

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

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USIA-06 DHA-05 IO-13 EUR-12 TRSE-00 /087 W

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FM AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6680

INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMCONSUL DURBAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L JOHANNESBURG 2439

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, PINT, SF

SUBJECT: JOHANNESBURG EDITOR ON SAG POLITICS OF SURVIVAL

1. JOHANNESBURG'S RAND DAILY MAIL EDITOR, ALLISTER SPARKS, TOLD CONGEN SEPTEMBER 12 THAT HIS CONCLUSION WAS THAT PRIME MINISTER VORSTER'S MEETING WITH VICE PRESIDENT IN VIENNA WAS POINT OF DEPARTURE WHEN SAG BEGAN TURNING LAAGER-WARD. (GENERAL VAN DEN BERGH, VORSTER'S CONFIDANT AND SECURITY ADVISOR, TOLD CONGEN MUCH SAME THING SEPTEMBER 8.)VORSTER REALIZED FULLY THEN THAT USG DEMANDED "ONE-MAN ONE-VOTE" POLITICAL OBJECTIVE FOR SAG. SINCE SUCH EXPECTATION WAS UNACCEPTABLE, VORSTER HAD STARTED WITHDRAWAL TO AFRIKANER LAAGER IN FOLLOWING WAYS:  
(A) SINCE USG HAD BEEN GOVERNMENT TO ISSUE ULTIMATUM OF IM-POSSIBLE CHANGE OR STRANGULATION, VORSTER AND CABINET HAD MADE SPEECHES ATTACKING USG, MORE THAN OTHER FOREIGN NATIONS, AND STRESSING SA'S LAST-DITCH ALTERNATIVE OF GOING IT ALONE IF NEED BE.

(B) NEXT, CABINET OFFICERS (HEUNIS, P.W.BOTHA) AND OTHER OFFICIALS (CHIEF OF DEFENSE STAFF MALAN) HAD MADE SPEECHES ON "ECONOMICS OF SURVIVAL", UNDERSCORING NEED FOR BUSINESS SECTOR'S  
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MAKING SA'S ECONOMY NON-DEPENDENT AND TOUTING SA'S SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN ARMS AND ITS STOCK-PILING OF OIL.

(C) FINALLY, "POLITICS OF SURVIVAL" WOULD SOON FOLLOW, MEANING FURTHER SAG RESTRICTIONS ON PRESS, GREATER USE OF INTERNAL SECURITY ACT, IN SHORT MORE REPRESSION AND ULTIMATE DICTATORSHIP OF NP.

2. ON SAG'S PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES, SPARKS SAID THEY WERE MEANINGLESS, LEADING ONLY TO SOME ANESTHETIZING OF COLOREDS AND INDIANS AND THEREBY REENFORCING NP CONTROL. ONE RESULT WOULD BE FURTHER DEGRADATION OF WHITE OPPOSITION PARTIES AND FIGURES. NEW PRESIDENT (PROBABLY VORSTER) WOULD ASSUME DICTATORIAL POWERS. SPARKS DID NOT BELIEVE NP CAUCUS APPROVAL OF PROPOSED CHANGES REPRESENTED CONCESSION BY HARD-LINERS. HE THOUGHT THEY HAD BEEN TOLD, WHEN THEY OBJECTED TO SHARING OF ANY POWER WHATSOEVER, THAT UNCLE JOHN (VORSTER) WOULD RETAIN FIRM CONTROL COME WHAT MAY, SO THEY ACQUIESCED.

3. SPARKS THOUGHT THAT END OF TRAIL FOR SA NOW WAS "GRISLY CONFRONTATION" BETWEEN WHITES AND BLACKS. SOMEWHERE ALONG PATH, ENGLISH-SPEAKERS WOULD BE COMPELLED TO ENTER AFRIKANER LAAGER OR PERHAPS FOLLOW "CHICKEN RUN" (RHODESIAN CLICHE FOR EMIGRATION).

4. WHEN ASKED WHY HE THEN PROPOSED IN HIS EDITORIALS A MULTI-RACIAL CONFERENCE TO DISCUSS CONSTRUCTIVE CHANGE AND PEACEFUL EVOLUTION, SPARKS SAID IT WAS JOURNALISTIC GIMCRACKERY. NEWSPAPERS HAD TO ADVANCE SOME IDEAS. BUT THERE WAS NO PERCENTAGE IN DIALOGUE BETWEEN POWERLESS WHITE LIBERALS AND POWERLESS BLACK RADICALS, SINCE NEITHER SIDE COULD FIND IT ADVANTAGEOUS TO CONCEDE ANY TALKING POINT AND NEEDLESSLY DISAPPOINT ITS CONSTITUENCY. PERHAPS IT WAS USEFUL TO SAY THAT IF EVERYTHING BURNS DOWN, THERE ARE SOME WHO MAY SURVIVE WILLING TO BE HUMAN  
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AND TOUCH HANDS.

5. ON US POLICY, SPARKS SAID HE THOUGHT USG HAD ALREADY BLOWN IT AND DRIVEN AFRIKANERS TOWARD LAAGER. HE WOULD HAVE PREFERRED OMISSION OF ULTIMATE EXPECTATION (FULL PARTICIPATION, MAJORITY RULE, ONE-MAN ONE-VOTE, ETC.) AND DEMAND OF LESSER, BUT REALISTIC OBJECTIVES (ONE AFRIKANERS COULD ACCEPT), LIKE REMOVAL OF VARIOUS GRAND AND PETTY APARTHEID RESTRICTIONS, LIBERALIZATION OF EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES, AND SO ON. AFRIKANERS COULD HAVE MET SOME DEADLINES IN SPHERES OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGE, BUT GAUNTLET OF POLITICAL EQUALITY MEANT TO THEM USG NOT GENUINELY INTERESTED IN WHITES' SURVIVAL.

6. COMMENT: SPARKS, EDITOR OF MAIL FOR LESS THAN YEAR SUCCEEDING RAYMOND LOWW, IS STILL RECOVERING FROM YEAR OF NIEMAN FELLOWSHIP AND WISHFUL THINKING USG CAN VERY MUCH HELP SA HELP ITSELF.  
JOHNSON

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## Message Attributes

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